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are certainly very much like the opening verses of the *Ars Poetica*. "While the objects selected for comparison vary, the ideas are essentially the same."<sup>20</sup> In this case, John of Salisbury again may have been Chaucer's source, for Horace's verses are partly quoted in the *Polycraticus* 2.18:<sup>21</sup>

disiuncta coniungit, ut si humano capiti cervicem iungat equinam varias  
inducens undique plumas, ut iuxta poetam turpiter atrum desinat in piscem  
mulier formosa superne.<sup>22</sup>

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#### SOURCES OF *In Memoriam* IN TENNYSON'S EARLY POEMS

Among the discarded poems of Tennyson's 1830 volume is a group of somewhat irregular sonnets entitled "Love."<sup>1</sup> The first nineteen lines of the group express the central conceptions of *In Memoriam* with remarkable fidelity to its spirit and phraseology. When we consider that these sonnets were written more than three years before the death of Hallam, the significance of the parallel becomes apparent.

Few of the author's discarded poems have been suppressed as effectually as these sonnets. Omitted from every authorized edition since their first appearance, they are ignored as completely in Baker's *Concordance* of 1914 as in Brightwell's of 1869. It is true that they have recently come into print again (as in Collins' *The Early Poems of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, and in the appendix to Rolfe's edition of the *Works*); but here it is only an inconspicuous appearance in small type and without comment.

As far back as 1879 it was suggested<sup>2</sup> that "it is . . . indispensable to the right understanding of *In Memoriam* that we should see what Tennyson had actually accomplished during the life-time of Hallam;" but as far as I have been able to learn, there

<sup>20</sup> Lounsbury, II, 262; Skeat, II, 472.

<sup>21</sup> John of Salisbury quotes the 4th line of this passage again in the *Polycraticus* 2.15. See Keller and Holder, *op. cit.*, II, 327, 8.

<sup>22</sup> For Chaucer's knowledge of the *Polycraticus*, see Lounsbury, II, 362-4; Hamilton, pp. 143 f.; W. W. Woolcombe in Chaucer Society Essays, 2nd ser., no. 16, pp. 295 ff. (an argument that Chaucer was not a borrower from John of Salisbury); J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 100; also see John of Salisbury in index of Skeat, vol. VI.

<sup>1</sup> The third of the group contains sixteen lines.

<sup>2</sup> Shepherd's *Tennysonianana*, 2d ed., 1879, p. 26.

has been, as yet, no systematic study of the subject. Certain parallels have been noted,<sup>3</sup> chiefly in matters of phraseology, between the *Poems by Two Brothers* and *In Memoriam*, but these can hardly be supposed to have great significance. *The Two Voices* is often mentioned as a companion poem to the elegy, but its uncertain date forbids a fair comparison. It was not begun until the year of Hallam's death, and may even be considered little earlier than some parts of *In Memoriam* which it most resembles.

In addition to these, scattered lines in the volumes of 1830 and 1833 show resemblances to the later poem in single details. The immortality of love was a favorite theme of Tennyson's before he had attained his majority; witness the following lines:

Life, anguish, death, immortal love<sup>4</sup>  
And it sings a song of undying love<sup>5</sup>

The power of love over death is implied in his reference to  
her, who knew that Love can conquer Death<sup>6</sup>

The scientific spirit of inquiry, coupled with a desire to seek a higher knowledge from love, is already preluded in these lines:

thy love  
Enlighten me. Oh teach me yet  
Somewhat before the heavy clod  
Weighs on me, and the busy fret  
Of that sharpheaded worm begins  
In the gross blackness underneath.<sup>7</sup>

But far more significant than these fragments is the notable resemblance which the three sonnets bear to *In Memoriam*. The following passage expresses in a condensed form all, or nearly all, of the central conceptions of the later poem:<sup>8</sup>

# I

Thou, from the first, unborn, undying love,  
Albeit we gaze not on thy glories near,  
Before the face of God did'st breathe and move,  
Though night and pain and ruin and death reign here.  
Thou foldest, like a golden atmosphere,  
The very throne of the eternal God:  
Passing through thee the edicts of his fear  
Are mellowed into music, borne abroad  
By the loud winds, though they uprend the sea,  
Even from its central deeps: thine empery

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Recollections of the Arabian Nights*, l. 73, edition of 1830. In this and the subsequent citations, all references are to the original editions of 1830 and 1833 for the early poems, and to the authorized edition of 1911 for *In Memoriam*.

<sup>5</sup> *The Poet's Mind*, l. 33.

<sup>6</sup> *A Dream of Fair Women*, l. 297.

<sup>7</sup> *Supposed Confessions of a Secondrate Sensitive Mind Not in Unity with Itself*, l. 182 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Love*, 1-19.

Is over all: thou wilt not brook eclipse;  
 Thou goest and returnest to His lips  
 Like lightning: thou dost ever brood above  
 The silence of all hearts, unutterable Love.

## II

To know thee is all wisdom, and old age  
 Is but to know thee: dimly we behold thee  
 Athwart the veils of evil which infold thee.  
 We beat upon our aching hearts in rage;  
 We cry for thee

The similarities of diction and imagery are much less important than those of thought, but the following detailed comparisons may be suggestive:

Strong Son of God, immortal Love,  
 Whom we, that have not seen thy face<sup>9</sup>—Cf. *Love*, I, 1-2.  
 Who trusted God was love indeed  
 And love Creation's final law<sup>10</sup>—Cf. I, 4-8.  
 That mind and soul, according well,  
 May make one music as before<sup>11</sup>—Cf. I, 7-8.  
 No lapse of moons can canker Love<sup>12</sup>—Cf. I, 11.  
 in thy wisdom make me wise<sup>13</sup>—Cf. II, 1-2.  
 What hope of answer, or redress?  
 Behind the veil, behind the veil.<sup>14</sup>—Cf. II, 2-3.  
 To lull with song an aching heart<sup>15</sup>—Cf. II, 4.  
 An infant crying in the night<sup>16</sup>—Cf. II, 5.

It would seem, then, that Tennyson's conception of the divinity and immortality of love, its relation to law in life, and its importance to the individual, were much the same before Hallam's death as afterwards. Already we find him insisting that love must be taken as a matter of faith (I. 2) and of human experience (II. 13-14). Already we find him expressing his mystical doctrine of the nature of love in the terms of contemporary theology, but with a different signification.

But there is nothing in the sonnets corresponding to the choral songs scattered through *In Memoriam*, which tell of the poet's feeling toward his own art. It is especially suggestive to compare the early line "We beat upon our aching hearts in rage" with the corresponding line of the later poem, "To lull with song an aching heart." The author had not yet learned how dear to him his art would prove. When the real sorrow came into his life, he did not beat upon his heart in rage, but found relief in song.

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<sup>9</sup> *In Memoriam*, Prologue, 1-2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, LVI, 18.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Prologue, 27-28.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVI, 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Prologue, 44.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, LVI, 27-28.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 15.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 18.